114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
175 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the
726 following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

●621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but
[731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[554] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
621 guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared 621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil- 166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al- 578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned [627] from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição 164 731 transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitáua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

V62 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
621 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitáua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

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1:Baldus--39 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Individuals	Married	Sons	Daughters	Individuals	Married	Sons	Daughters
Less than 1 year	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
1-2 years	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
3-5 years	9	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
6-10 years	7	—	—	—	11	—	—	—
11-14 years	9	—	—	—	7	6	—	—
15-17 years	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20 years	9	8	—	2	6	6	—	—
21-25 years	11	10	1	4	5	5	2	2
26-30 years	5	4	1	1	9	9	4	10
31-35 years	8	7	2	5	7	6	5	2
36-40 years	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
41-45 years	2	2	1	—	2	2	2	1
46-50 years	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
56-60 years	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
Total	69	35	6	14 (sic)	61	35	16	16

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 756 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] [578] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 166 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] [731] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrangement of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matrilocal. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

858 In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, ●[621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, as children here so commonly do, the

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

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[101] that all participants in the tãtáupáua [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171
124 The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáua means "everything eaten."

The word tatáupáua may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264
176 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
574 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũatanamĩ', was a Panaĩvũína. As I lived in
[612] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264
176 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
574 and sisters.

[609] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
●[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264
574 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
621 gether for the tãtáupáua, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kauĩhó, or "bad kauĩ" (literally, "big kauĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kauĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

121 [122] [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

I. The Tapirapé

162 •621 On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitsua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

	Male	Female	Total
5 years and under	5	3	8
from 6 to 15 years	7	3	10
from 16 to 30 years	14	17	31
over 30 years old	6	4	10
Total	32	27	59

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitsua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

[166] It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals have emigrated to Txitxutsua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitsua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutsua is much smaller than this village, [116] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Te [177] [648] [731] [164] by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te Ta 177 Ta Te [171]

Te Ta 22 [241] [361] The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te 311 361 [166] [241] Te Ta [162] [621] Te Ta 161

Te Ta 169 847 Te [842] [845] 847 This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year-old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [620] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [31] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is